1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

134 carried down the Blue Nile into Egypt. In Ethiopia, irrigation canals make use of it.

[311] (3) The remaining, eroded, red loam soil, of little fertility. This is left to the bush or is used for grazing.[5]

135 There is little information on the mineral wealth of Ethiopia, since whatever there is, particularly gold, has been kept from the knowledge of outsiders. The Italians had merely begun their surveys when they had to leave the country. Salt has always been a major item of import from the border lowlands in the east to the highland plateau. Numerous volcanic mineral springs, used for healing since ancient times, exist in many plateau districts.

[326] Since ancient times, gold from the sand gravels of Wollega and southern provinces was sold in small nuggets, or fashioned by goldsmiths into rings and sold by weight. It is now a monopoly of the central government; goldsmiths have been drawn to Addis Ababa, where they now use modern methods.

D. Flora, Fauna: their significance in Ethiopian Ecology.

137 The generosity of nature on the highland plateau has provided a basis for human subsistence with little effort. In addition to a healthful climate and fertile soil, resources of vegetation and animal life are abundant.

137 Economic botanists have conducted studies which indicate
241 that the highlands of Ethiopia contain a number of indigenous varieties of cultivated cereals and legumes. Some are of the opinion that these highlands even formed one of the PRIMARY

5. Chamber of Commerce of Addis Ababa: Guidebook of Ethiopia, 1954, p. 127-8.

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B. THE ETHNIC DIVISION OF LABOR.

Division of labor according to the ethnic origin of of the worker is the most distinctly organized division among the Amhara. This is based on the attitude of the Amhara that labor (especially skilled labor and manual labor) is dishonorable. This attitude is reinforced by the close kinship ties which prevent a cultural deviant from shaming the members of his family by working in the district where they are known. It also reinforces the the ethnic boundary lines, and forces the non-Amhara, non-Coptic, working ethnic groups to live within the circle of their own kinfik, religious groups, and hamlets.

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One of the most despised is the class of the Faqi, the tanners, who speak old-Cushitic languages such as Agau, are considered "pagans" in religion, and are associated by their trade with the hunters, the lowest class.

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On a slightly higher level are the ironsmiths, usually of Falasha, who practice Mosaic Judaism, used to speak Quarinya, an old-Cushitic language, but use the same Semitic Geez language as the Copts in their religious worship and biblical liturgy.

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This use of Geez by the Falasha is puzzling to the Coptic priests, and brings about a sort of grudging respect for the Falasha, which somewhat elevates their status above that of the tanners. But they are suspected of practicing black magic in connection with their smithing of iron. Patrons take magic precautions to counteract all sorts of magic bewitchment by the Falashas whenever they have contact with them.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

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463 They are especially afraid of the "buda", evil eye concept,
754 of which Falashas are believed especially capable; also of
326 their supposed ability to turn themselves into real and magic hyenas at night.

This magic power, however, is believed to make their
323 tools "strong", and the pottery of the Falasha womenfolk "hard to break", so that their wares are preferred by the Amhara, creating a monopoly for Falasha iron tools and pottery wherever Falasha hamlets are within a day's walking distance. In some areas there are itinerant Falasha smiths, whose womenfolk make pottery at the same time. They will live in a special guest hut at the edge of an Amhara hamlet.

463 Weaving is also done by Falashas, but they have no
563 monopoly on it, as Muslim Ethiopian weavers are believed
286 by the Amhara to turn out togas that are just as good. For many centuries Muslims were permitted to reside only in segregated sections of towns, such as "AddisAlam" of
361 Gondar town. Though this prohibition has been lifted, most Ethiopian Muslims still reside in special quarters of towns, rarely in a rural hamlet on the Amhara plateau. They were not permitted to own land and no one would rent them any.

They see much more of the country trade routes, since it is they who do much of caravan trading, acting as guides, quartermasters and retail traders for Arab coreligionists who are the wholesalers, usually on routes leading to the Sudan, to Eritrea and to Somaliland. The Coptic Amhara consider the Ethiopian Muslims almost as foreign as the Arabs, even the descendants of Amhara who were forcefully

415 housewives prefer a much larger variety, "mägäfäl", for the family "wot", or, for small-scale cooking the common "dest", or "mamwashät". This is 4-1/2" high, sometimes with two vertically separated compartments for different foods, e.g. peppery meat stew and vegetables. It is usually the blackest in color of all pots. A similar small pot, "mächit" is used for cooking fish.

The traditional coffeepot, called "kuskus" or "kuskushet" (onomatopoetic), is shaped like a madiga, but less then half its size, and has a short and narrower spout. Another pitcher does resemble a European bowl-coffee pot in shape, with a long, bent, narrow spout. This is the one-handled "manqurqoriya" (onomatopoetic), called "jäbäna" in Shoa and "gämbo" in Cushitic, used to pour barley beer into individual cups, holding at most 15 berelle. This pouring was the special occupation of servants called "gämbonya" in elaborate feudal households, and he did nothing else but carry the "gambo" or barley beer on military expeditions with his master. This special occupation has recently fallen into disuse but is well remembered by the nostalgic.

B. Smithing

326 Of all specialized, manual occupations, smithcraft involves the largest team, five able bodied men who, however, can interchange their roles. A team of five is necessary because of the greater use of musclepower and greater need for cooperation is this occupation. But, apart from the former specialist in weapon-making, the technological

326 achievement even of the smith remains comparatively primitive and not only is there no further sub-specialization, but the smith also does whatever carpentry is tangential to his occupation.

The following roles are involved:

2 men to hold the piece of hot iron ("berät") with iron tongs ("fachal"),

1 man to hammer the iron into shape with a heavy iron hammer,

1 man to operate the twin bellows of goatskin ("wänaf"), one hand moving away from the fire and the other going down,

1 man to coordinate, supervise, and relieve one of the others if he tires, so that the operation is not interrupted.

In some parts of Ethiopia where iron ores occur, the ore was smelted and resmelted to a slaky, spongy, carbon-poor raw material that must be hammered and heated many times before use. This has become rarer until today all the iron used by ironsmiths is scrap, formerly imported from Eritrea and the Sudan, but now available in large quantities where Italian military and civilian machinery remained behind and is being used. Even the anvil, formerly a flat rock, is now often an iron European one, as are the heavy hammers, tongs, etc. Only the bellows is still traditional. It is of the hose type, consisting of a complete goatskin tied up at head and 3 legs, with a lengthy slit on 1 rear quarter (or the legs are tied up and the slit used at neck). When the bellows is extended, air enters into the spread slit. This is closed by hand

326 during the downward stroke, the compression, when the air is pressed through the built-in pipe(or a horn inserted in the neck) into the nozzle to the fire at the other end. There are two such bellows in the operation, one being extended while the other is being compressed with the other hand.

412 Agricultural tools are the major products of the smith. Sickles ("mached") resemble European ones but are smaller and not curved as far. They are teethed somewhat roughly. In case of thick, wooden stalks such as mashella (sorghum) maize and other tall stalks, the sickle is used at the bottom, while other grains, whose stalks are more useful for thatching, etc. are cut at the top just beneath the ear. To cut branches off trees, etc., a billhook, machete-type ("gajam") hacking knife is used, which resembles an oversize sickle but has no teeth.

A big axe ("fas") is used to cut trees, but a more common, smaller hatchet, "mätrabiya", is used to cut deadwood for fuel and other uses. When this grows dull, the owner takes it to the smith who cuts it down and makes an adze of it, after seeking a properly-shaped, angle-formed wooden handle with a knoll at the elbow, to fit the iron adze-blade into. This adze is much used in digging, scraping, hoeing and harrowing the soil after seeding.

The smith also makes the sharp iron point for the digging stick used on steep slopes, especially on the "dega" upland where terrace farming is impractical, or to help break up new or long-fallow soil, using the digging stick as a lever. It is called "ankase" or "doma". On

412 ly by the ladies. An awl ("wäsfe") is used in basket-making and umbrella-weaving. A small chisel ("mesar") may be a more recent introduction, but, like the awl and larger items, is nonetheless made by the (Falasha) smith. [232] Burning irons for burning out sores on the backs of mules and donkeys are also made by the ironsmith.

326 The ironsmith, usually Falasha in ethnic identification, does not usually do silversmithing. This is done in urban areas or big markets usually by Muslim silversmiths. The silver is smithed from Maria Theresa thalers, and the smith may keep as much as 2/3 of the "raw material" for himself. As in the case of most other marketable tools and utensils, the product of the silversmith is made on order only, though increasingly there are traders with chests full of silver filigree earspoons, crosses, rings, etc., ready for sale to officials, travellers, and others with ready cash. In the past, silversmiths using imported coins, and goldsmiths using Ethiopian mined gold nuggets, were to found primarily attached to the tent city of the king at his capital. Casting is done on the principle of cire perdue, a form of wax in clay.

411 Weapons were made also in connection with the feudal military organization, which required the craftsman to follow wherever the armed bands of the warlords went in raids or new settlements, serving as a kind or ordinance, and always on call. Rifles in Abyssinia date back over 300 years, handed down as family property, the stocks replaced time and again with tough, white wood, "wanza" (Cordia abyssinica). Each soldier carried gunpowder in

411 A safer version of the throwing spear, with dull or no point, is used by the young men during their mock battle and chase at the "gänna" feast (Christmas).

●326 435 The economic aspects of smithcraft could provide the smith with considerable income, since the Amhara peasants are in regular need, and since the Falasha smiths have a monopoly due to the suspicions of the magic correlation which keep Amhara from the craft. But in fact the income is not large. A team of rural smiths, 5 men, receive only Eth$1.50 for their labor in making a plowpoint, if the customer brings his own scrap, double that if the smiths have to supply it. The somewhat bigger "summer plow" costs somewhat more. The customer usually waits in a special hut of the hamlet of the smiths, and must be provided with grain and other necessities, meanwhile. Thus, while an individual smith may earn as much as Eth$400.- from his craft in a year, the additional food bill may be Eth$300.-, and most of the earnings will go to pay the rent on his land, of which he farms less than the average peasant.

Even a well-made plowpoint dulls after about 10 years. Then it is brought back and the smith cuts it down to an axe ("mäterabiya") for only 50¢ Eth. When that dulls, he cuts it down further to a slightly smaller adze ("mäqofariya") for half that sum.

326 563 The human organization of smithcraft, particularly in the Amhara area where the Falasha are the smiths, presents peculiar problems and patterns. Where no Falasha hamlets are near, the smithing is done by itinerant Fa-

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

326 lasha smiths, whose women make pottery at the same time.
563 This arrangement is not liked by the Falasha because of their religious obligations, even though they reside in a special guest hut, slaughter their own sheep and use their own utensils while at work for a distant Amhara hamlet. For they rest on Saturday, work on Sunday, and the more traditional among them have to undergo elaborate purification ceremonies upon their return home.

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This alternate, itinerant pattern probably developed during recent centuries when feudal warlords forced them to accompany their troops as ordnance, at any time, often during their entire lifetimes. This continued as late as the 1920's, when Ras Gugsa still ruled the province of Begemdir (Gondar). Since Menelik's conquest of distant Galla lands, in the late 19th century, Falasha smiths have been carried off farther than ever, and sometimes never again seen by their families. Ras Gugsa wanted to please Menelik in his Amharization program in the south, and ordered Coptic churches built by the Falashas in "pagan" or Muslim Galla areas, when their wartime duties were largely over. Some were given Shanqalla females to replace their own distant families. A few rose to the position of "bäjirond" (treasurer) and were given land property in lieu of salary. Thus an exception was made for these individuals, for Falashas were not permitted to purchase land, on condition that their offspring carry on the same services in the feudal armies. Now that these services have been abrogated, there are still a few land-holding Falasha families, the descendants of army-ordnance Falasha smiths.

326 563 [943] Another difficulty is that the Falasha, observing Sabbath on Saturday when the big markets are in operation, cannot market any surplus of iron products directly, even if they wanted to, and must use a middleman, usually a Muslim, who absorbs any extra profit that might accrue in town. Thus the economic significance of their craft remains entirely in the old pattern, and is not developing in a modern direction, which it might have as a result of recent Western contact, stimulation and tools. The Falasha are recasting every part of their own rifles except the barrel, and their womenfolk have attempted to make glass out of sand (with little success) and modern Yemenite clay incense burners (with more success).

C. Carpentry.

322 Carpentry has already been characterized as minimal, incidental, merely semi-occupational among the Amhara, and as a tangential task of the ironsmith toolmaker. At best, the carpenter ("tarabi") is a part-time specialist.

The riflestock, of wanza wood, made by the ironsmith, often leads to his being asked to do other special woodwork, e.g. saddlemaking. If he becomes proficient in it, he may do nothing else during part of the year, and then send the finished, wooden saddle to the faqi tanners for a leather cover. For his own labor he may charge as much as Eth$3.- a better profit than that achieved by the average ironsmith. Wanza wood (Cordia abyssinica) is also used for the legs of the "alga" bed, so that the

565 ("chäwa") of Amhara ancestry ("attentam"); and the "gabbar" sharecropper on feudal land, who is regarded as of doubtful ancestry (part-slave, or part-Galla ethnic), who is referred to as "rustic" ("balagär). While the former, usually descended from warriors who were given land many generations ago, considers himself inferior only to nobility and higher church officials, the latter occupies the broad bottom base of the Amhara social pyramid. The proverb says of the rustic "gabbar":

[539] "He who honors a gabbar
will be despised by him ".

In fact there are not many who might honor a gabbar, except for some ethnic laborers and ex-slaves, both of whom occupy somewhat of an outcast position.

c) The Ethnic Classes

563 463 565 The ethnic skilled-labor class does not usually consider itself inferior to the gabbar class. This is especially true if the particular ethnic group has a non-material culture or subculture of its own, notably the Falashas who observe Mosaic Judaism.

The factor of fear of a skilled occupation, the practitioners of which are called "täbib" (lit. "knowing one ", i.e to whom secrets are revealed), enters into the class stratification. It attaches an aura of untouchability to certain occupational classes, especially if reinforced by ethnic or religious difference. 563 326 754 This combination of factors applies to the smithcraft, the "mayla", who are suspected of witchcraft, of being

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

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754 able to turn themselves into "buda" hyenas, and of having learned their craft from the "buda" evil spirit. Since the smiths in the old-Amhara areas are mostly Falashas, whose formal religious worship is never observed by Coptic Amhara, the Falasha smith is feared and
[412] suspected of black magic. At the same time, the iron tools produced by the Falasha are much prized, not only on account of their material utility but on account of their supposed supernatural strength, endurance and "secretly revealed" workmanship. Even today, the provincial peasant will insist on obtaining his plowpoint or adze from a "real" Falasha.

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326 The Falashas practice endogamy, as do the Coptic Amhara. But in the towns where increased contact occasionally begins to attenuate the old rules, individuals of low prestige in both groups do sometimes marry, which
[797] usually results in the conversion of the Falasha partner to the majority religion. Also due to modern contact, it is beginning to happen that a Falasha teaches his craft to a non-Falasha, but the peasants often reject the output of the latter on the grounds that it isn't a "really strong, genuine Falasha article".

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281 Somewhat similar untouchability attaches to the tanners, who are usually of local pre-Amharic, (Cushitic, e.g. Agau) descent, often still speak their ancient tongues, and until recently were never converted to Coptic Christianity. As traditionally "conquered" peoples, they are not "attentam", and Amhara endogamous rules are all against them. The stigma against them seems to

754 The Amhara belief in buda has been very troublesome for the
563 Falashas, for they are believed to have inherited the practice of sorcery from their fathers along with the craft of ironsmithing. Thus, the Falashas are blamed for individual cases of magical "eating" as well as for epidemics. Such accusations have repeatedly led to "sorcerer-killings". When an Amhara patient dreams that a certain Falasha is "eating" him, he sometimes gathers his kinfolk for a sudden attack on a Falasha hamlet, demanding that the particular "sorcerer" be handed over to them. In 1936, when the country was in turmoil following the Italian invasion, Falashas of one district were so plagued by buda persecutions that they evacuated their hamlets there and moved closer to the town of Gondar, though keeping a half day's distance from the town itself in line with their tradition of self-segregation(based on their religious particularism). Even now Falashas in their hamlets keep loaded rifles handy all night.

326 What happens when a non-Falasha learns the trade of ironsmithing,
563 e.g. a Gurage, which happens near Addis Ababa where no Falasha hamlets exist? He dies not become a "kayla" (ironsmith; this term is considered insulting); he is not regarded as a potential buda, because he has not inherited the trade. But, his handiwork is suspect as "unprofessional"! It is called "yarāga sera" (work of a "rāga", unprofessional), which indicates that his customers are likely to hold a low opinion of the quality of his product and the endurance of his tools in those areas where Falasha-made articles are readily available. The latter is not true where no Falasha hamlets exist, so that Gurage work is appreciated near Addis Ababa.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

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What happens when a Falasha gives up his Judaic religion and converts to Christianity? Does that free him from being suspected of buda? Only to a slight degree, for his Amhara neighbors refuse to forget his ancestry. In case of conversion, the Falasha becomes an outcast from his own people and usually moves to town. Only an ex-slave or a very poor Coptic woman will marry him. In the latter case, his in-laws believe that his kinship ties are still stronger than his new religion. Thus, if they have him teach them his ironsmithing trade, they believe he will not teach it properly to his affinal relatives. He can never become deacon or priest.

The buda-ironsmithing syndrome of the kayla seems based, in the Amhara mind, on the idea that a very strong power, namely the evil eye spirit, is necessary to accomplish sound work in ironsmithing. To remain powerful, the buda-ironsmith is regarded by the Amhara as requiring blood from time to time, otherwise his product, the iron plowpoint, will not stand wear and tear and the spear will break.

What happens to a Falasha who gives up his kayla trade? The stigma will remain on him, where his family is known. Therefore, some Falashas have migrated and tried to change their trade. This avoidance has not helped at all as long as they remain Falasha in religion. Those who have taken the step of conversion (e.g. as result of Protestant missionary activity in the lat 19th century) are still whispered about as Falashas by their Amhara neighbors and their social and marital associations are largely limited to other ex-Falasha, ex-ironsmith people. Assimilation has not solved the problem of ridding themselves of buda suspicion by the Coptic Amhara, though it has reduced direct, individual accusations of sorcery.

578 In the new courts established by the central government in
689 the provincial towns, the term "kayla" is regarded as an insult and can be prosecuted legally. The proper, legal term is "seratanna" (lit. workman).

326 How can one explain this strong syndrome: ironsmith - buda -
754 Falasha, which still dominates the Amhara mind? It is interesting
563 that silversmiths are less feared than ironsmiths, are more respected and (perhaps in psychological consequence) are regarded as less hateful and vengeful; (they are also less feared for they work indoors, where they can "see" less). Furthermore, although Falashas in their own society are not ashamed of their ironsmith trade, the Amhara project their own despising of this manual craft onto the Falashas and believe that Falasha ironsmiths, ashamed to be seen working at such lowly work, "fasten" on passersby with their buda eyes.

Perhaps at the basis of this syndrome lies the idea that a skilled craft, existing within the technologically primitive Amhara society, must be the result of association with evil forces
[71] of the supernatural. This has been the pattern regarding ironsmiths in parts of the Middle East, Africa and ancient Europe. Among the Amhara Copts of Abyssinia, the idea that these ironsmiths are also "deniers of Jesus Christ", yet have an "education" of their own, above the "pagans" makes them doubly dangerous. Added to this is a projection of their own pattern of fears and hates.

e. "Buda" doctors past and present

756 While the aforementioned dabtara is the most commonly
793 called doctor of buda disease, sometimes, especially in urban areas, the Coptic priest himself is called in.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1963 MP5 Amhara MP5

*565 776 many kinds: they may be male or female, Christian or Muslim, educated or unschooled, mischievous or somber. *Zâr* are depicted as resembling the handsome, light-complexioned Abyssinians. They are not necessarily evil: sometimes a person is inspired by the sound of *zâr* singing far off in the woods to add a new song to the local lore. But they are the great carriers of physical and mental illness. Many of the contagious diseases in Abyssinia, like typhus and smallpox, are referred to as "*zâr* sicknesses." Above all, the *zâr* is the bringer of seizures. When a *zâr* lands on somebody's back the victim may go into a trance, succumb to melancholia, or break out in hysteria. Women are most often subjected to fits caused by *zâr*—usually by male *zâr*, who perform some kind of magical coitus with them and try to compete with their husbands. When a freak is born to a woman, it is often attributed to the malicious effect of a *zâr* jealous of her husband.

*565 776 [562] Though some kinds of *zâr* only desist from molesting their victims through constant propitiations, others can be won over to serve as powerful protecting spirits. Thus an initial discomfort can be turned into a permanent advantage, offering the erstwhile victim magical protection and, as one student has suggested, affording women a temporary escape from their depressed social status through the companionship and opportunities for self-expression found in associations of *zâr* "patients."[8]

*565 754 787 Human beings with supernatural powers are of two kinds: those who manipulate the spirits and practice magic, and those who are themselves possessed. The possessed are called *ṭayb* or *budâ*. *Ṭayb* (or *ṭabib*) in its original sense means "manual worker," but it has acquired the connotation of "one with the evil eye," the primary meaning of *budâ*. By looking at someone the *budâ* or *ṭayb* "drinks his blood" through the magic power of his evil eye. The victim will first feel a severe headache and fatigue, then show hysterical frenzy, and finally intestinal cramps. His fingers will be clenched around his thumbs, a sign that the *budâ* has grasped the thumbs and does not want anyone to see him taking his "food" from the victim. If the victim is not cured he will eventually waste away and die.

*565 754 [262] [189] [323] [326] [554] The *budâ* is helpless to check his malevolent power, and if he enters the home of a friend who is not a *budâ* he will shout ahead to get the children out of the way for fear he might unwittingly infect them. People who eat pork are thought invulnerable against the evil eye, the pork in their systems serving as a kind of antibody against the infection. Potters and metalsmiths have been kept in a low caste position in Abyssinia partly because of the belief that such artisans inherit this evil power along with their craft from their parents. It is important in selecting a spouse for one's child to make sure that there is no *budâ* blood in the family, and to be called a *budâ* or *ṭayb* is one of the more serious insults.

The Amhara peasant has many beliefs about the malevolent beings in his

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

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779 their combined ranks the political elite of Ethiopia has been historically recruited. Third among the highland peoples are the Agaw. It appears likely that they are the descendants of the original Hamitic population of this region, and only during the last century have most Begemder Agaw been converted from their indigenous religious beliefs to membership in the Coptic Church. Within Begemder, they constitute a majority of the inhabitants of three non-contiguous areas. Fourth among highlanders are the rural Muslims, indigenous people who have been converted to Islam over the last five centuries.
[241] While the rural Amhara, Tigre, and Agaw are exclusively
[463] farmers, these Muslims divide their energies between farm-
[286] ing and working as artisans, mainly weavers of the toga
[443] cloth; Muslim women are prominant among the traders of
[562] the weekly markets held throughout the province. Least numerous of the highland people are the Falasha, Abyssin-
[423] ian Jews following a Mosaic creed. A despised and humil-
[326] iated people, the Falasha farm only rented fields
[286] (timene), and work as smiths as well as weavers; Falasha
[162] women are potters. Although the Falasha are localized in several regions, they nowhere constitute a majority
[361] of an area's residents. Like the Abyssinian Muslims, they reside either in hamlets of their own, apart from Amhara, or in peripheral homesteads of otherwise Christian hamlets. These distributions are summarized in Map2.

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bar maids.

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[562] A third, numerically significant minority have come from the provinces of Wollo to the east, and from Shoa and those areas still farther south. Local Amhara classify them together pejoratively as "Galla"[18], even [144] though many are in fact true Amhara. Although these "Galla" vary as to physical type, most are indistinguishable from local Amhara, and only a minority are markedly [779] negroid. Most are Copts or Muslims, although a few are [649] non-Coptic Christians. Most of the men are government employees, generally members of the provincial gendarmerie, which is headquartered in Gondar.

Three additional, numerically small, populations [562] also reside in Gondar. The Agaw are represented mainly [464] by girls and women working as servants for the less affluent townsfolk, and as beer sellers. Of the Nilotes [192] living here, the women work as servants for poor townsfolk, and both sexes haul wood from distant areas for [324] sale in the town's daily wood market (sir gabiya). The very few Falasha in Gondar are iron-mongers.

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621 Ward and Town. Gondar's residents divide the town

[18] The predominant ethnic group of southern Ethiopia, and, to Gondari Amhara, half-pagan and negroid ("bariya").